l; Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Means by which the Dorobo can acquire stock are: (1) By bridewealth: when a Nandi marries a Dorobo girl, her father gets the normal Nandi payment of one cow, one ox, and a varying number of goats. (When a Dorobo man marries a Nandi girl he has to find somehow the same amount of cattle.) (2) By gift exchange: a Nandi makes friends with a Dorobo, mainly to get honey, and after the first step towards friendship has been taken, the Dorobo gives him some. Later the Nandi gives a goat, and the way is thus paved for the exchange of cattle. This exchange is independent of the honey, which is given by the Dorobo from time to time. This process of acquiring cattle is of course a form of payment, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by a previous exchange of gifts, for the Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is necessary to lead up to the final stage by a preparatory exchange of other things. So far the Nandi have been willing to exchange male stock only in this way; to get cows the Dorobo have had to rely on bridewealth. (3) The Nandi will sell goats for cash, but not (at least up to 1939) cattle. The Dorobo do not seem to want sheep; they had none in 1939, nor when I first knew them in 1927.

Inheritance

The general rule is that when a man dies, his goods are kept by his wife for handing over to his children if they are small, or they pass straight to them if grown up. When a man has neither wife nor children, his heirs are his brothers, his father's brothers' sons, or his mother's brothers' sons. Women do not inherit stock. Land rights in the forest pass to the eldest son, or to a brother, or to one of the relatives termed *macokor* (see below, p. 62). Weapons are left to a brother, to a *macokor*, or to a clansman. Dogs are left to sons, or else to a brother or *macokor*. Goats are divided proportionately between sons, or pass to a brother or *macokor*. The proportion is roughly as follows, assuming that a man left seven goats and three sons: to eldest son, three; to second son, two; to youngest son, one; to his wife, one, this and its offspring going eventually to the youngest son. The theoretical division of cattle is approximately thus: to eldest son, two; to other sons, one each; to wife, one, which reverts to the youngest son.

Division of Labour

Everything connected with hunting, bees, and weapons is done by men; domestic work by women. The main occupations are divided thus:

Men:	Women:
Making fire.	Building houses.
Hunting.	Collecting vegetable food.
Trapping.	Getting water and firewood.
Putting meat on to cook.	Looking after meat cooking.
Making honey-barrels.	Cooking other food.
Collecting honey.	Milking when there are cows.
Making weapons.	Making baskets.
Trading with the Nandi.	Preparing skins.
Getting coloured earth.	Making clothes, etc.
Cutting wood.	Care of the children.
Making fences.	Sweeping huts.
Preliminary heavy work in the *imbaret*.	Cultivation, all stages.

Children of both sexes help in weeding and herding stock; girls help with the housework and milking, though boys are allowed to milk till they are circumcised. This division is followed strictly with regard to the first nine male activities; but with the last three there is some overlapping; and the essential domestic work and cultivation are often done by men, especially when they are unmarried or live quite alone.

1; Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

A striking difference between the Dorobo and Nandi systems is that whereas Nandi may not marry any person in the *tiliet*, the Dorobo were insistent that a man might marry his father's sister's daughter's daughter, the girl whom he calls *macokor*, a person definitely in the *tiliet*. This type of marriage does not seem to occur now; but did in the past. Marriage with a wife's sister is considered objectionable.

Behaviour patterns may be summed up in a statement made by a Dorobo that " a man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we are all on terms of friendliness and ' clean fun.' " Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother. Between a man and members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed; but elders must always be shown respect. Where the claims of relatives are concerned, the amount of contact is important, for even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen cannot expect and will not receive so much respect as one who lives nearby and is well known. On a husband's part, there should be complete avoidance of his wife's mother, though this may be relaxed by degrees as he gets older; conversation with the wife's father should be limited to greetings.

Pre-marital Sex-life

Owing to the small number of Dorobo and the consequent shortage of women for wives, men have little in the way of pre-marital sex-life; and if a man does manage to acquire a lover, he often marries her.

Bridewealth

This varies according to circumstances, and Dorobo statements about it are conflicting. In 1927 it was said to consist of large quantities of honey-wine and of monkey-skin caps; but in 1939 the standard was one cow (with calf if still suckling), one ox, and four goats. The number of goats varied in the recorded cases from two to six, and in one case the cattle amounted to four oxen. A man also gives his father-in-law presents of honey-wine and a fur cap or two; thus marriage is more of a drain on a man's resources than formerly.

Betrothal

A man chooses his wife himself, and arranges the preliminaries with the girl's father during two visits at which he gives him presents of honey. After the second visit the father calls the clan council together and publicly gives his consent to the marriage.

Marriage

The marriage ceremonies are conducted by an elder known for the time as *patum*, who brings the bride to her future husband's home, where the guests are already assembled feasting. The girl enters the hut in which the ceremony is to take place, and in the presence of witnesses the *patum* gives her to the man, saying, *Keipuncin cicoto*, " you now belong to this man." He then binds some *sekutiet* grass on the man's right wrist, and an old woman binds some of the same on the girl's right wrist. They are now married. The *patum* then sets up an erection of *sekutiet* grass called *tumdo* which is smeared over with cow-dung; this the wife has to knock down and tread upon. After this, the pair are left alone, and the marriage is consummated. Next day the *tumdo* is trodden into the floor and plastered over with cow-dung, for it must not be seen. The pair are then shaved, he by the *patum*, she by the old woman, and the hair is buried in cow-dung under an erection of sticks called *korosiot*, which is set up in great secrecy by the *patum*. It is essential

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

THE DOROBO OF KIDOŊ (KERIITA)

History

The group described by Lambert as living at Keriita on top of the escarpment, on the edge of the Forest Reserve 10 miles north of Limuru, is that classed as Kidoŋ in *Anthropos* 1951.[1] It was seen by Thomson in 1883 at the place known to the Swahili as Mianzini (" place of bamboos ") where, he says, a Dorobo village was established for selling food bought from the Kikuyu to the Masai and the traders.[2] This group is part of the Kikuyu Dorobo who occupied the land before the Kikuyu came. The process by which the Dorobo had completely lost their land by 1887 when Teleki passed through is summed up by the Kenya Land Commission as one " partly of alliance and partnership and partly of adoption and absorption, partly of payment, and largely of force and chicanery."[3]

Organization

There are no chiefs, control being in the hands of a council of elders, with a leading elder called *kiruokindet*, as among the Kipkurerek. Marriage is patrilocal, and descent patrilineal. Polygyny is permitted. Boys are circumcised, and girls are subjected to clitoridectomy. There appears to be some sort of age-set system, but Lambert's statement is not very clear on this point.

There are said to be nine clans, with Nandi-looking names beginning with the prefix *kap-* (which does not imply territoriality, but simply means " group of "). These clans are sometimes referred to by Masai clan names, or even by Kikuyu clan names. The word for clan is *ol-gilatait*, derived from the Masai *oil-gilata*, " clan," and not, as Lambert suggests, from *ol-gelata*, which means not " plain," but " side path."

Religion

A so-called supreme being called *Tururit*[4] is recognized; and the statement describing ancestral spirits as " active members " of a lineage implies the existence of an ancestor cult.

SOURCE: H. E. Lambert, *The systems of land tenure in the Kikuyu Land Unit. Part I. History of the tribal occupation of the land*, pp. 67, 68.

[1] XLVI, p. 2.
[2] *Through Masai Land*, 1887, p. 262.
[3] *Kenya Land Commission, Report*, 1933, p. 93.
[4] = Nandi *turur*, " above."

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

covered with a strip of soft hide—often that of reedbuck or impala—worked to a state of pliability resembling that of chamois leather. The barb is never coated with poison under any circumstance. 411

A small supply of fresh poison (*ngwane*[1]) is sometimes carried in the heel of the quiver. This poison is a black, sticky mass made by boiling the leaves of a certain tree and is manufactured exclusively by the Wakamba. The Dorobo know nothing about it, hold it in considerable awe, and have never attempted to make poison of their own.[1] [278] [439]

In the quiver is also carried a fire-stick (*Ol-kiriañgeti*) and a fire-block (*sasamda*). The Dorobo are experts at making fire and scorn to use matches. A small flat spoon (*kanuléuandee*) for smearing poison on the arrow-heads is also carried—this spoon is made from the same wood as the bow; and a small knife for smoothing and rounding the arrow-shafts. This knife is called *orueta siléld*.[2] A wooden tube about twelve to eighteen inches long and a quarter of an inch in diameter, not unlike a peashooter, will always be found in a Dorobo quiver. This tube, called *endulee*, is used for drinking from pools which are shallow or which have a dirty, scummy surface. (It is a point of honour with every Dorobo and an unwritten bush law that a man should not stir up the mud in any water at which he drinks.) The *endulee* is also used to induce, by blowing through it, a blaze or clouds of smoke from lighted grass put into a hive to drive the bees away from the honey. 372 410 [577] 207

A Dorobo quiver, as we have seen, contains a large number of objects essential to the bush life that the Dorobo leads. It is scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that it is next to impossible to purchase a furnished one. A Dorobo once told me (I am sure he meant it) that he would not exchange his quiver and its contents for five oxen. The price habitually paid to the parents of a girl taken in marriage is from two to five arrows, and a demand on the parents' part for a full quiver would be regarded as extortionate. 415 [583]

The Dorobo may be seen sometimes with a small axe which 412

[1] That is, arrow poison. The Dorobo are reputed to have a powerful poison they mix with snuff. When inhaled, it is stated to have a fatal result. I have been unable to obtain a specimen of this poison and doubt its existence. [278]

[2] Literally, "*Small knife.*"

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Names.

Before a child is born, the spirit of an ancestor is called upon, and the child receives the name of that ancestor, which he retains throughout his life.[1] At circumcision, a man becomes Arap (anum), "Son of (So-and-so)," *e.g.* a boy named Kipoo, whose father's name is Kimiñiñg, becomes Kipoo arap (Ki)miniñg, and is known as Arap (Ki)miniñg. Both the masculine and femine names are mostly Nandi.

Circumcision. (Tum,* N.)

The customs connected with circumcision seem to be very similar to those of the Nandi. Boys are circumcised at intervals of about ten years; the ceremony takes place after harvest, about October, when extra food is bought from the Nandi; the actual operation is performed in the early morning. In the case of girls, a circumcision is held when there are sufficient girls in a district of an age to be circumcised; only the clitoris is removed. Circumcision, as among the Nandi, and in ancient Egypt, is a form of initiation into manhood or womanhood, and is preparatory to marriage.

Marriage.

It is usual for Dorôbo to have only one wife, as they are unable to support more. The price of a wife is paid chiefly in honey-wine. Before marriage the suitor gives to the girl's father as much honey-wine "as four women can carry." He also gives the parents honey-wine year by year after marriage, and he must give the father caps (*sambut*, pl. *sambuisiek*) made of the skin of the tisiet monkey (*Cercopithecus albigularis*). Nowadays, if a Dorôbo has any cattle, he sometimes takes a second wife.

Death.

When a Dorôbo dies, his body is taken out into the forest, about 200 to 300 yards from his hut, and left for the hyænas (*kimarokat*) to devour.

Miscellaneous.

When a Dorôbo thanks a person, he spits in the direction of the person, with or without saying "*Kongoi*," N. ("Thanks").

The Dorôbo call each other in the forest by blowing horns of water-buck (*ikondit*, N.).

Salutations:—

(*a*) Of greeting:—To men, "*Sopai*"; answer, "*Cham-ke*" (health). To girls and women, "*Tákwenya*"; answer, "*Igó.*"

(*b*) Of farewell:—"*Saisere*" (good-bye); answer, "*Saisere ok inye*" (good-bye to thee), or, "*Saisere ok okwek*" (good-bye to you).

Except "*Cham-ke*" as the answer to "*Sopai*," these are the same as in Nandi.

[1] The Nandi also give children "spirit-names" (*kainet ap oiik*), which, however, are seldom used.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

on, the suitor goes again to the girl's father with another bag of honey, and makes his request again. After a short time, perhaps two or three weeks, the father calls the clan together, and tells the suitor to attend. To the assembled council, the father says, "Here is my daughter, and here is the man who wants her to be his wife", thereby giving publicly his consent.

Next, the bride-payment is settled. This is not absolutely fixed, but varies slightly according to circumstances. Statements about its nature and amount in the old days are somewhat conflicting. In 1927 I was told it consisted chiefly of honeywine in fairly large quantities, and of monkey-skin caps, a statement probably true of the very old days when few of the forestdwellers had any live stock at all. But since those days, the introduction of even a small amount of live stock has changed the nature of bride-payment. People said in 1939 that in the old days (*keny*) a man had to provide four oxen for slaughtering at the marriage feast as well, but I could find no instance of this. In 1939, the standard bride-payment was one cow, with its calf if still sucking, one ox, and four goats, subject to slight variation according to the circumstances of the father in law; other amounts that I recorded were: 1 cow, 1 ox, 6 goats; 1 cow, 1 ox, 2 goats; 2 cows, 6 goats; 4 oxen and 2 goats. As well as the stock, a man gives his father in law honey wine and one or more fur caps, thus combining the old bride-payment with the new, and making the acquisition of a wife more of a drain on a man's wealth than it used to be.

Payment of the bride cattle need not be made before the marriage ceremony, but the first instalment should be handed over within a few months, and the rest at such intervals as may be agreed upon. If the husband dies before completing payment, his brother takes the widow and completes the payment; in such cases it is not necessary for the pair to go through the marriage ceremony, for the formal acceptance of responsibility by the brother before the clan council legalizes the status of any children she may bear him. If the husband has no brothers, the procedure depends on whether the woman has borne a child or not. If she has not, she returns to her father, and the animals already paid are handed back to the husband's people, and she is free to marry anyone she pleases; if she has had a child, she stays with her husband's group, and some member of the family (who this is, depends upon what men are available) takes charge of her and the child, and completes payment of the bride cattle.

Having settled the matter of bride payment, the suitor has next to arrange for the marriage ceremony. He gets an old man, of any clan, with whom he is on terms of fairly close friendship, to act as master of the ceremonies. This old man is called *Pa-tum* [16] by the bridegroom and *Pa-muai* by the bride. His first job is to collect the friends and clansmen of the pair. They gather round the hut where the ceremony is to take place: this is in the settlement of the suitor's father. On the chosen day, the bride

[16] *Pa-tum* is used also in connexion with circumcision, which is called *Tum*. Though the Nandi word *tum* means primarily „circumcision" (cf. *Luo thumo*, „excise"), in Dorobo it seems to have acquired the meaning of „ceremony".

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

313 *Rerendet* (euphorbia candelabrum) : honey-barrels.
824 *Mocet:* honey-barrels.
Oltamiyoit or *Yemdit* (olive, olea chrysophylla) : fire-wood.
Enyasiek: fire-wood.
Cornet (ficus sp.) : fire-sticks.
Teet (cedar, juniperus procera) : fire-sticks.

824 (B) Plant material. The following trees and plants provide material for food, salt, medicines, and utensils[6] :

[372] *Sasiat* (dry grass) : tinder for making fire with fire-sticks.
[285] † *Tapariet:* fibre for baskets.
Sosiot (phoenix reclinata palm) : fibre for baskets.
[278] † *Tiinet:* medicine.
† *Opeito:* medicine.
Rerendet: medicine.
Lepuyuwet: medicine.
Sitotuet: medicine.
Seketet: medicine.
Usuet (ardisia sp.) : medicine.
[263] *Tepenguet* (aemilia integrifolia) : salt.
Serenguet: salt.
[273] *Rotinuet* or *Rotiot* (kigelia aethiopica) : making honey-wine.

825 (C) Skins and animal products. These include :

237 † Monkey : food ; clothing.
[291] † Antelope : food ; clothing ; bags ; quivers.
[411] Pig-gut : bow-strings.
Feathers : arrows.
† Honey : food ; wine ; ritual purposes.
Ram's fat : ritual purposes.
● [583] Goats : bride-payment ; ritual purposes.
Cattle : bride-payment ; milk ; dung ; hides.
[412] Bush-buck : tails for brooms.

285 The basket most commonly made by the Dorobo is the small *kerepet*, about 6 inches deep and 6 ½ inches wide at the top. This kind of basket is used a good deal by the Dorobo themselves, and is also a frequent article [439] of sale or exchange to the Nandi : *kinapci kereponik Nandi*, "we make baskets [461] for the Nandi", as an old woman said. Dorobo women make baskets when they have nothing particular to do, just as European women knit. The materials used are fibre from the midrib of the *sosiot* palm, which is split into thin strips, and bast from a plant called *tapariet* which is used for sewing the coils of fibre with the aid of a small needle (Fig. 1)[2]. The basket maker starts by splitting the *sosiot* fibre, preparing a certain length and biting it off as she

[439] [6] Things marked with a dagger † are used in the preparation of objects given to the Nandi in exchange for their products.

[2] [i.e. see category 116 & 617 - ANALYST.]

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

father (if he lives nearby), to his brothers, and lastly, if there is any over, to his clansmen in the settlement; so that a man who gets a pound or so of Nandi tobacco does not keep much of it for himself.

Drink, mainly in the form of honey-wine, is prepared not so much for private consumption as for social gatherings. It is used in various magico-religious performances, and as part of the bride-payment. When a man is visited by a friend or two, he gives them honey-wine; when there is a clan council, honey-wine is drunk; and when men and women meet for a wedding or a naming they drink honey-wine. It is thus an indispensable part of Dorobo social life. When a man wants to relax, he lies down and goes to sleep; but his amusement is composed of social gatherings. Visiting, ceremonials, and clan councils in fact provide him with his entertainment, and conversation and gossip seem to take the place of games and dances. I saw no sign whatever of the game called *kecuiek* by the Nandi, which is played with seeds or pebbles in holes in the ground or in a board, and never heard it mentioned. I neither saw nor heard of a dance, and I never once heard a Dorobo of either sex singing.

The principal standard of wealth is really a man's skill as trapper, hunter, and bee-keeper. But the products of this skill are perishable, and formerly the only way in which tangible wealth could be accumulated was in the form of weapons, honey-barrels, and dogs. Now that the old hunting conditions have gone, it is becoming possible for a man to accumulate wealth to a very limited extent in cattle or goats, which he can get by purchase, gift-exchange, or through bride-payment. The use of money has just become familiar, and a certain number of Dorobo earn wages; but except for one or two who have joined the Police, wages are not high, and the average in 1939 was 7 to 10 shillings a month. So far the Dorobo have had little inducement to work for wages, except that by signing on as squatters for a small wage they can acquire a temporary right to live on what was their own land. Beyond the fact that money enables them to buy a little extra food, our idea of wealth means little or nothing to them, and they have not yet advanced far enough into the transitional stage for it to be anything more than a small supplement to their traditional way of living. It is all that they can do to maintain themselves, let alone accumulate reserves or surplus wealth.

The transitional stage which the Dorobo had reached by 1939 is that from hunting to agriculture, with at the same time a strong desire to acquire cattle. It is sometimes suggested that hunting peoples like the Dorobo are really agriculturalists or pastoralists who have had to give up their agricultural or pastoral way of life and take to hunting. This may be true of some, such as the 'false Dorobo' in parts of Kenya who are merely outlaws and fugitives from various tribes. But it is quite clearly not true of the real Dorobo [1], like those who form the subject of this paper, who are unmistakably non-pastoral and non-agricultural. Their basic hunting tendency is shown by their character and behaviour, by their hunting techniques and skill, by

[1] Cf. my remarks in JRAI 59. 1929. p. 378.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

they have been stock-owners for too short a time, and on too small a scale to have formulated or developed any cattle customs of their own; they do not think (like the Nandi) in terms of cattle; and their main efforts are at present concentrated on trying to acquire cattle. For the last, three ways are open to them, all slow and laborious: bride-payment, gift exchange, and purchase.

Bride-payment. A Dorobo whose daughter is married to a Nandi receives for her the number of stock that a Nandi would give for a girl of his own tribe, i. e. 1 cow and 1 ox or bull, together with a variable number of goats; and when a Dorobo marries a Nandi woman he has to pay at the same rate. Arap Keter acquired his cattle from the marriages of his three sisters: the eldest, Kapotikuany, was married while his father was still alive, and on the old man's death he inherited the cattle paid for her; the other two, Cesum and Taprandic were married after their father's death, and the cattle for them (amounting in the case of Taprandic to 1 bull, 1 cow, and 5 goats) was paid to Arap Keter.

Gift exchange. Nandi from time to time make friends with Dorobo, chiefly for the purpose of getting honey. The first move after two men have come to regard each other as friends, *cornet*, is for the Dorobo to give the Nandi some honey, without expectation of any immediate return. After a time, the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and thus the way is prepared for the handing over of cattle. Arap Minin became the friend of a Nandi at Ollesos called Kapkile, and eventually got from him an ox in exchange for a fur cloak; and on another occasion he got an ox in exchange for seven goats which he bought with his wages for working on a farm. Arap Korucu in his youth hunted at Kapiyet in Nandi, and shot *tisiet* monkeys, from which he made fur cloaks which he exchanged for cattle. To-day he has five head of cattle which are herded for him by a Nandi named Kipkorir arap Serem on Farm 1479: the Nandi looks after them in return for the use of their milk, Arap Korucu being given a small amount of it. This process of acquiring cattle is, of course, a form of purchase, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by exchange of gifts first. The Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is therefore necessary to lead up to the final stage, as the Dorobo regard it, by the preparatory exchange of other things. And as a method of acquiring cattle it is limited by the fact that the Nandi seem willing to exchange only male stock in this way, so that for female stock the Dorobo have to rely on bride-payment.

Purchase. The Nandi do not sell cattle to the Dorobo except as just described, that is, in the form of bride-payment or by exchange. But they will sell goats for cash. The Dorobo do not seem to care about sheep, for in 1939 none possessed any.

At the time of their move in 1937 the Dorobo were credited officially with a large number of cattle, some 2000 head in fact. But in 1939 the actual numbers that I saw and counted (and I have reason to believe that these were practically all they had) were very much smaller. The following list, while it may not be perhaps completely accurate, gives a truer idea of the real numbers. It will be noticed that there were few goats; some were undoubtedly

9:Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1903 FL6 Dorobo FL6

000 **Africa, East.**

Notes concerning the Eldorobo of Mau, British East Africa.

By C. W. Hobley, Assoc.M.I.C.E., Local Correspondent of the Anthropological Institute.

101 [224] [233] [241] To the east of Nandi country, in the Mau Forest north-east of Mount Tinderet, live a tribe of so-called Eldorobo people, who, like other branches of their race, exist solely by hunting, and possess neither flocks nor herds, neither do they cultivate the soil.

By the Nandi they are called the Oggiek, and they call themselves the Omotik. They have intimate relations with the Eastern Nandi, and generally speak the Nandi language; in fact, numbers of the young Nandi men, for whom the free hunting life has a charm, leave their homes and go and settle among these people for some years, and probably marry Oggiek women. It is thus difficult to discover what is the true aboriginal type of the race. The representatives with whom I have come in contact had, however, redder complexions than the majority of the Nandi, and had very peculiar eyes, which reminded one somewhat of the Mongolian type. In height they averaged 5 feet 9 inches to 5 feet 10 inches.

[191] [563] 142 Their marriage customs are very simple: the suitor merely presents the father of the girl with some beer made from the sap of the "mkindu," or wild date palm, and a few monkey-skin cloaks, or "kaross," and takes away his bride.

583

14:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939)1942
FL6 Dorobo FL6
[P.191,A]

Apart from the rule of exogamy, there are certain other marriage regulations: 614

1. A person may not marry anyone who comes into the *tiliet* or relationship (except F. Sis. D. D.), that is, anyone addressed by a relationship term, or as *oroyon*.
2. A man may not marry his wife's sister because such unions are thought to be sterile. [842]
3. A person may marry into the clan of his or her M., M.M., Br.W., or Sis.H.

Pre-marital intercourse with anyone in the *tiliet* is forbidden; but with a clansfellow condoned, though not approved of. [836]

The shortage of women and the lack of wealth have resulted in the Dorobo being largely monogamous, though if a man has the wealth, he may have more than one wife. The *hedua* (bride-price)[1] is said to have been formerly 4 oxen for slaughtering; today it is 1 cow, 1 ox and 4 goats, which go to the bride's father and become his personal property. This *hedua* is high for a people who own little or no stock, but by means of gift exchange cattle can be obtained from the Nandi (See below, p. 192.) Rarity of divorce is another result of this shortage, and since a wife is something comparatively hard to come by, she is more cherished than is usual among other peoples where women are plentiful. The inability to get wives has produced a tendency to what may be called *mandeis*, that is, unmarried men (some of whom never marry) live entirely alone, and do all their domestic work, as well as hunting and cultivation, without assistance. 596 [556] 583 [131] [648] 586 589

III

ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. Environment.

The home of the Kapchepkendi Dorobo is the western end of the high ground which occupies the country between Eldama Ravine and the Nandi escarpment. The greater part of it is covered with dense forest, and is crossed on the S. W. corner by two parallel paths from Kipkorom in the north to Ndoroton in the south. The forest begins about the 8,000 ft. contour, and to reach it from any side entails a steep climb of 131 [137] [487] 193

[1] On this term, see "Bride-price in antiquity," *MAN*, 1931, 187.

D
K

174 not addicted to the digging-stick, the use of which, Kikuyu husbands
425 thought, was what a wife, apart from bearing more Kikuyu, brewing
682 beer, and being generally a willing slave, was mainly married for.
But he might take her, being satisfied that long before the harvest of her first attempt at growing things was in he would have got more land in lieu of her, and she would be happily at home again. Or he could argue that, her father having failed to provide more land and she refusing steadfastly to stay, the marriage must be deemed a matrilocal one and he be given cultivation rights in her father's land and bring along a relative to do the digging she declined to do. One can imagine endless sophistry along such lines and understand how in the end the slayer's kin would have to yield the only kind of property they had at their disposal that their Kikuyu creditors would deign to take in compensation, that is, virgin land.

[p. 117] Payment in girls

174 Another way in which the Kikuyu have alleged that they acquired
425 Dorobo land is mentioned in the records; this was paying for it, not
583 in goats, but girls. The evidence before the Land Commission gave instances of this, or at least of payments said to have been made in both, partly goats and partly girls. The Kiambu Kikuyu told the 1929 Committee: "Sometimes he (the 'seller') accepted a Kikuyu girl instead of stock in which case he had to stay." They had previously (in 1920) told Colonel Ainsworth much the same. Colonel Watkins in his note of 1920 considered the arrangement similar to that between the Giriama and the Sanya, of which he said:

> "The Wa-Giriama, driven like most immigrants by the desiccation of their former haunts, are drifting to better watered and better timbered areas. They naturally clear ground first where timber is thin, on the outskirts. To the family soon comes a Sanya who through sickness or scarcity, complains of hunger and asks for a goat. This is given on condition he brings in ivory when recovered. Thus trade relations are established, and he becomes a hunter to the agricultural community, on no fixed wage, but friendly and vaguely attached to it. Later on perhaps he builds a hut near and accepts, in trade, girls of the agricultural community (1), possibly in return for permission to clear more

5:Lambert--89 G-5 (ca. 1935-1950) 1960 FL10 Kikuyu FL10
Dorobo FL6

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1. But the "Dorobo Committee" of 1929 recorded: "Their social standing (i.e. of the Sanya, Dahalo and Boni) is so inferior that it seems very unlikely that they can be absorbed with either the Galla or the Giriama. Intermarriage between them and either of those tribes is unknown."

of his hunting land."

Mr. A.R. Barlow wrote in 1926:

"Kikuyu girls in some cases were bought in marriage by the Aathi (hunters) who then settled among the Kikuyu. The Aathi having no stock, they surrendered areas of forest to their fathers-in-law as bride-price." (2)

2. Quoted by the 1929 Committee.

This puts the transaction in its proper light: it is incorrect to talk of girls as currency with which to "purchase" land; land, possibly, in default of goats, was currency with which to "purchase" girls. Girls did not merely take the place of goats as currency, although the phraseology of certain witnesses (both white and black) suggests that they did. For instance, girls could not be used in lieu of goats in payment for the lands their fathers or their brothers (according to the Kikuyu story) had arranged to "purchase" from Dorobo who had joined their groups by being made blood-brothers for the purpose of the "sales." That would be tantamount to ritual incest, for each group, including its new members, was exogamous. Or, if there had been reciprocal blood-brotherhood between two groups instead of joint adoption by the parties to the "sale" the marriage would annul the husband's status as a ritual brother of the "buyer's" group (3). But

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3. There are forms of so-called blood-brotherhood among some tribes which do not involve exogamy, e.g. the Zande of the Sudan, where it is thought desirable for a man to marry his blood-brother's daughter. But this does not apply to forms in which the blood-brother is "treated as the son of one's own mother."

S:Lambert--90 G-S (ca. 1956-1960) 1960 FL10 Kikuyu FL10
Dorobo FL6
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if we note these limitations there is no great harm in doing as the witnesses have done and speaking of a land-and-marriage deal the wrong way round, for the transaction was in any case reciprocal and girls were certainly alleged to be the medium of exchange in certain instances of acquisition.

(p. 115) The fact that when a girl was taken as the "purchase"-price or part of it the "seller" "had to stay" requires some explanation, for when the payment had been made in grass he nearly always "wandered off" or "moved away." A nomad's life with nothing to the nature of a settled home with gardens of her own to cultivate would not suit the bride, and she would certainly desert her husband if he tried to force the habit on her. No doubt her father would return her once or twice (a costly business if it went on very much longer), but in the end there would be nothing for it but divorce, and that would mean her father's group would have to hand back the wife-deposit, that is land. One can imagine that the angry father would tell his disobedient daughter what he thought of her in no uncertain terms, but native girls, as every native father of a daughter knows (or husband of a wife), can stand a lot of that and show no sign of more submissive conduct. So the only answer to the general problem in the end was that any Dorobo who disposed of land in payment of his wife-deposit "had to stay." This would entail a somewhat curious form of matrimony. All the preliminary negotiations leading up to such a marriage would not differ much from normal patrilocal ones, but the moment it was determined it would become a patri-matrilocal one, the husband staying where his group-in-law—not he himself—would establish their fields and homestead. It would be a patrilocal patri-matrilocal marriage, though possibly exploited matrilineally, by using practices pertaining to a "seller of the sword" as precedent or analogue.

K 174 Possibilities of tribal acquisition

Three long-range possibilities of acquisition of stretches of Dorobo land must have occurred to the imaginative minds of the Kiambu Kikuyu immigrants. There were, first, annihilation of a small and scattered rival; second, expulsion of such as lived in the stretch of land the immigrants wanted to acquire; and third, absorption into the Kikuyu tribe. Having regard to the overwhelming

"sale" in which no girl changed hands should enter the European as Misono, as being possibly a penny rope for nothing more than fun, the picturesqueness idiomatic of a savage tongue, but lacking actuality or force in function.

In general the exchange, direct or indirect, of men for men or girls for girls is necessary in every tribe in which exogamy is practiced, and in a patrilineal system girls for girls would naturally be or tend to become the rule, and where the spirits of the gens continue themselves with gentile land the patrilineal principle would rule the girls away from home. In the immediately pre-British Ilkeya system in Misono girls could be exchanged for stock and stock for stock, and stock for girls, but land could never be exchanged in perpetuity or sell, possibly by reason of its clustering with kindred, dead and living. In the Dendo system girls could be exchanged for ivory and ivory for girls. This took the girls away from home, the Dendo being patrilineal and patrimonial, but the girl remained a member of her gens; the gentile spirits kept an interest in her, and the marriage bond is not a bond between her and her husband only but between her gens and his; the spirits of the gentes were included in the bond. The groups, inheriting two different kinds of land, were bound together by the marriage rite, which was a continuity-enabling rite binding the living and the dead of both, and so, in a sense, by reason of the land-rite bond, the land of both. The Dendo gave this principle in force to native logic. Land itself could be exchanged for spiritual currency, provided the exchange entailed a sacramental bond. The essence of the bond in land-exchange or marriage was that it bound the living and the dead of both the groups for ever or at least as long as there was visual evidence of it, that is, just so long as what was "purchased" with the currency continued in existence, whether as itself or as its offspring, with the "buying" group. The "buying" group was, in the case of land, as much the "seller" group-in-law as was the group which "bought" their girl for marriage with its son.

"Ilkeya"

All the relationships covered by exchanges in the continuity-enabling rites were continuous and lasted at least as long as the object transferred remained in the "buyer's" hands. The Ilkeya

Dk Mother-618 G-6 (695-ca.1900) 1951 PLIS Ideal
Dorobo PLS
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C00 marital relations. -- Polygyny. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Conversion of the young man to the state of the married. -- Bride price. -- Paying the consent of the father of the bride. -- Exchange of wives. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Entering into marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

915 The marital relations also offer little that is new. Polygyny exists only to a limited extent; most of the people are too poor to acquire and support more than one wife; only a few have two wives, and if a man has three of them it is a rarity. Betrothal in earliest childhood seems to be more frequent here than among the Ideal, but no more binding and without legal consequences. As a rule after circumcision the youth is betrothed to a girl eight to ten years old, after his father has proposed for him to her parents. As among the Ideal, the /[illegible]/ betrothed persons live apart and may not even see each other. The bridegroom lives with a girl in one camp, and in the other, the bride with another youth. If the bride becomes pregnant before the wedding, dissolution of the betrothal does not always take place, as among the Ideal, but rather the one who made her pregnant must reimburse the bridegroom by the payment of a head of cattle.

Then, just as among the Ideal, the young men of an age class together decide upon their entering the standing of the married, and their fellow companions confirm this intention by a feast corresponding to the ol gumuk [ol lo, to which friends and neighbors participate. They are served gruel and honey beer, the latter of which, however, the marriage candidates may not yet drink. They like to eat then for the day after a successful elephant hunt, so that the guests can feast heartily on meat.

• 1913 Before marriage can be entered into, the bride price is to be paid. The bridegroom usually gives the father of the bride, even before the circumcision, five pots of honey and five beehives, and, soon after the circumcision, half of a dark female elephant with the calf that belongs to it; furthermore, two head of cattle, which

/540 cont./

583 [439] are bought from the Ideal for ivory, and finally half of the meat of a slain female head of game approximately the size of a zebra. The mother of the bride and each of her brothers receive from the bridegroom a headless spiare. Instead of the headless the parents-in-law in some regions, especially where the Wandomba live in close contact with the Ideal, receive iron wire. After receiving the gifts, the bridegroom and father-in-law reciprocally call each other ka-ganak, bridegroom and mother-in-law ka-ge, bridegroom and the brothers of the bride ka-ndeng, according to ancient Ideal custom.

[540]

583 587 For beauties no higher price is paid. For a childless widow the usual price is paid, but only after the birth of the first child and after her father has returned to the heirs of her deceased husband the price received for her bridewe her first marriage. For a widow who gave birth to girls only, no bride price is paid; however, the heir of her deceased husband keeps her daughters. Likewise nothing is paid for a woman driven out by her husband. If the bridegroom dies before the marriage, his brother takes the bride.

583 [584] If the bride dies before the marriage or if the betrothed parents dissolve the betrothal, the portion of the bride price already paid is returned. A bridegroom who is too poor to be able to pay the full price serves the father-in-law for a few months as bonus for the remainder owed.

584 If the father of the girl has stubbornly opposed the courtship, he is finally forced to consent by means of a divine judgment. The lover stealthily creeps into the hut of the old man and ties a rope of grass around the wooden honey pot. The father is said /541/ [784] to give his consent regularly then, since otherwise the punishment [583] of God would kill him. In place of this custom, it also happens [171] that the lover secretly takes the girl away, or the latter -- as among the Ideal -- flees to him without her parents' knowledge.

837 Wife exchange occurs, but legal marriage does not arise from it. The woman does not remain with the other man for longer than a half to a whole year. If she feels pregnant before this time, she returns to her husband.

582 171 Among the Aak the same marriage obstacles hold as among the Ideal, but the great distances between the individual tiny camps

[illegible]

Dorothy Field
Ames

[Title page.]

III.

Interment of the corpse. -- Hereditary succession.

The interment of the corpse differs from the practice customary among the Ibanag only insofar as the poverty of the dead affects it. They neither hold a funeral feast nor do they anoint the corpse with tar. Wealthy people, i.e., those rich with numerous progeny, are laid in the ground, and, to be sure, in the land near the hut, so that after death they may hear the conversations of their children and enjoy the fragrance of their meals. All other corpses are simply dragged out of the hut and put down approximately 100 paces from it. If the corpse has not already been devoured by hyenas the first night, which, moreover, is said not to happen only rarely, since in reality these carrion-eaters roam about the usually foul-smelling corpse every night, [illegible] then one hears as an offering the recital of the heavy loss, consisting of one particle, beside the corpse. A burial of corpses outside the camp is not customary anywhere. The prayer beside the corpse of a freshly fallen man runs: Ah, my grandpa, my boy - God, father, give advice, give mana. What one said above about the Ibanag holds for the remaining.

In the right of succession the same principles hold as among the Ibanag. The insignificance of the goods left behind, however, often makes a division among those qualified to inherit impossible, and one can therefore very often observe in practice that the eldest son of the principal wife receives the entire inheritance consisting of house, utensils, and headdress. The latter form the principal part of the estate and, after the death of a man, are distributed among the sons in the same way as the cattle among the Ibanag. Just as the latter gives each of his wives a number of cattle to care for and enjoy the use of, the [illegible] brother each of his wives a part of his headdress, which the son of the wife in question then inherits. Widows as a rule join a man of their age class and live with him. Surviving daughters pass into the possession of the eldest son insofar as the bride price is to be paid to him upon their marriage.

[Dora Benes Fiel, 10 Abaniar, Autobiography 'Ibb--dra].pet]

423 /NO com./

The individual person does not have an exclusive right to land or to the use of hunting grounds. Rather, both are common property.

229 421 Only one half of any game down to the size of a medium antelope belongs to the hunter and his companions together, while the other half of a male animal is given to the members of his lineage. Some of a female one to the relatives of his wife or wives in both cases insofar as those entitled to receive it live in the immediate vicinity. Of the two tusks (/gwesh, /gwesh) of the elephant each receives half. Recently, the large teeth of the hippopotamus have been shared in the same manner, whereas formerly /NO/ they were left lying, along with the bones. For the bone (/ashdg, /ashdeg) of the rhinoceros the hunter never ran in exchange points or knew points and then distributes these things among the people who previously were to share the meat of the animal. The hides of the dain game belong to the hunter.

All smaller game belongs entirely to the hunter and his companions.

421 Property belongs to the single individual, not to the family community. A lost article is returned to the owner, without the finder's

425 claiming a reward. There is no punishment for the appropriation of found articles.

425 There is no general medium of exchange. Money has not yet been adopted anywhere. Goods are always exchanged for goods. For many the caucasus people pay cattle, goats, sheep, iron wire, beads, fabrics. In the individual barter connection the Wandorobbo never want one kind of goods always, but always several, and of the heterogeneous as many different kinds as possible. The exchange takes place with immediate delivery and is made valid by spitting on the objects. Only exceptionally is a brief delay granted for a

425 small part of the payment. The creditor seeks to have himself paid by a dilatory debtor through self-help, and only if he has no success with that does he swear a complaint. It not infrequently happens

• [illegible] that the creditor takes a small daughter of the debtor as security, and a marriageable one as a wife; in the latter instance, he delivers the interest of the debt from the bride price. The debtor's heir is liable, and, to be sure, for the entire debt. With the debtor's inability to pay, the successor is liable. If -- which is seldom the case -- one is present at all. The heir of the successor is also liable.